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Address delivered before  
the Tallmadge Colonization  
Society on the Fourth of July,  
1833, by  
Elisha Whittlesey.



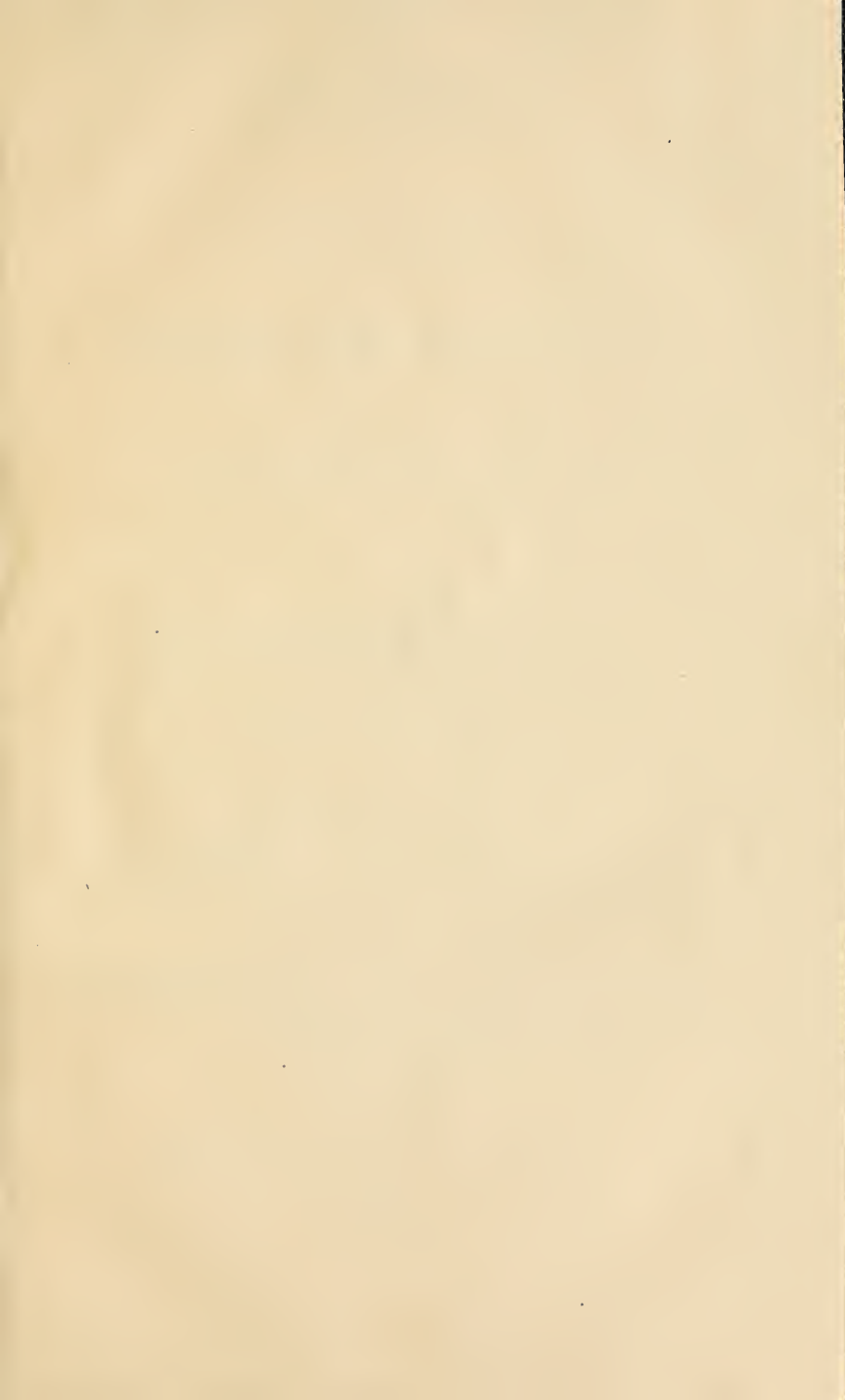


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**AN ADDRESS,**

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

**Tallmadge Colonization Society,**

On the Fourth of July, 1833; 174  
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BY

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**Hon. ELISHA WHITTLESEY,**

MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

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PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

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THE PROCEEDS ARISING FROM PUBLISHING THIS WORK, WILL BE DEVOTED TO COLONIZING THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

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5 RAVENNA :

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE OHIO STAR.

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JULY—1833.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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TALLMADGE COLONIZATION SOCIETY--JULY 4, 1833.

*Resolved*, That the President of this Society express to the Hon. E. WHITTLESEY, their grateful thanks for the Address with which he has favored us; and request of him a copy for publication.

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CANFIELD, JULY 6th, 1833.

*Dear Sir*—The Address I delivered at Tallmadge on the 4th inst. is committed to you, to dispose of as you shall think will best advance the cause of colonization, and the interests of our beloved country. It was written at intervals, when my time was much devoted to my professional and other business, without the least expectation it would appear in print: but I do not feel myself at liberty to decline your request, considering that Tallmadge has been the field where the abolition missionaries have principally labored. I endeavored to enforce the position, that the success of the abolitionists would destroy the Union, and annul the constitution; which I understood Professor Green in his criticism, and in answer to an inquiry I made of him, distinctly to admit, and avow. It is time for those who wish to perpetuate the government and the constitution, to rally for their support, and to guard them from the influence of fanaticism, in whatever garb it may appear. Be pleased to accept for yourself, and to communicate to the officers and members of the Society of which you are the organ, an assurance of my high consideration and esteem.

Very respectfully, Yours,

E. WHITTLESEY

RICHARD FENN, Esq. *President of the* }  
*Colonization Society of Tallmadge.* }

## ADDRESS

OF

**HON. ELISHA WHITTLESEY.**

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MEMBERS OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY,  
AND FELLOW-CITIZENS :

I should do injustice to my own feelings, if I did not express my high gratification, in having been requested by a committee of the Colonization Society in this town, to address you on this national anniversary. Similar requests have been made before, when it was out of my power to comply with them, from public, professional, or private engagements. There is one thing, that renders the task assigned to me unpleasant; and that is, the divisions that exist among you on the subject of colonization. Could I have addressed you on previous anniversaries, I should have found you on this question united, and blending your energies and your means, as you have in most, if not all of the benevolent projects of the day, designed to advance either the moral or intellectual condition of man. If it had been predicted a twelvemonth past, that in some one of the great subjects in which you have all taken so deep an interest, there would at this time have been dissensions, I should have selected the subject of colonization as the last, on which different opinions could be entertained. The civilizing and christianizing the Indians, in the northern sections of the United States, has been prosecuted with zeal for near two centuries; and although the instances are not very frequent, when these sons of the forest have been reclaimed, still you persevere in this, because you believe the day will come, when they shall abandon the chase, and betake themselves to tilling the ground for a subsistence; and when they will no more worship a senseless idol, nor the sun in the firmament; but Him who hath created all things. Or had it been predicted, that any one society within the circle of my acquaintance, would be distracted, by the question of immediate abolition of slavery, I should have selected this, as the last to be thus affected. The stability of your character, and your intelligence, would in my contemplation have saved you from embracing what I believe to be gross error. It shall be my object to show, (after some necessary preliminary remarks.) 1st,

that the colonization society merits the confidence of all : and 2d, that immediate abolition should not find advocates with any.

In discussing these points, it shall be my aim not to wound unnecessarily, the feelings of those who are converts to the new doctrine of abolition : but I will appeal to their sober judgments, and not to their passions, with the hope, that some of them may pause, before they become identified with a party whose predominance will dispense with the celebration of this national anniversary. The discovery and settlement of America, have produced great changes in the social and political relations of man ; and their ultimate consequences, are beyond the foresight of human discernment, or anticipation. While this Republic has been an asylum for the oppressed of all civilized nations, it is a lamentable truth, that a portion of the human family is held in bondage, in contradiction to the annunciation of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are born free and equal." The first ship that carried our fathers, ascended the James River in Virginia, in 1620. Why the Supreme Ruler permitted the abduction of the Africans, their transportation to this country, and their bondage, is beyond our finite comprehension : but in this, as in all the ways of his Providence, it is our duty to confide in his wisdom, and to remain firm in the belief, that his purposes will be accomplished. The introduction of slaves into the different colonies, was encouraged by the British Government : and although the puritans who settled New-England, were driven from the altars of their fathers by persecution, even *they* were not conscientiously scrupulous against holding their fellow men in bondage : and if slavery did not exist as extensively in the northern, as in the southern states, climate was a more efficient preventive than conscience. The rigor of a northern climate was not congenial to the blacks ; the comparative sterility of the soil, was not inviting to their natural indolence and effeminacy ; and the production would not defray the expense of slave labor—while a southern climate approximated toward that of Africa, the soil was wrought with less labor, and the productions of the earth were more abundant, and brought higher prices in foreign markets, when they did not compete with those of other countries. Not only did the British Government encourage the introduction of slaves into the southern states, but it enacted laws, tending to increase the value of slave labor in the British West India Islands, by imposing heavy duties on the production of those possessions, when imported into the colonies from other countries. Hence, as early as 1733, a duty of nine pence sterling, was imposed on every gallon of rum, six pence on every gallon of molasses, and five shillings on every hundred weight of sugar, when imported into the plantations from other colonies. While this policy was pursued with her colonies, thereby enriching her treasury and her subjects at home, slavery was not permitted within the kingdom of Great Britain ; and it has

been the pride of her orators, that "the British law makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from the British soil, which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he stands is holy, and consecrated by the genius of universal emancipation."

Several of the provinces, before the revolution, foresaw the evils of slavery, and presented humble petitions to the throne, to prevent the importation of slaves. The Burgesses of Virginia, implored the King "to remove those restraints on the government of the colony, which inhibited them from assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce;" and the address contains the following prophetic language:—"The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa, has long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity; and under its encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's dominions. ~~We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects in Great~~ Britain, may reap emolument from this sort of traffic: but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more white inhabitants, and may in time have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope, that the interests of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects."

When speaking of the inhumanity of the slave trade, and the evils it has entailed on the country, those of the present generation are apt to attach the blame exclusively to the inhabitants in the southern states; whereas, it will be found, on examining the early history of those states, that slavery was imposed upon them, against their remonstrances, and entreaties, by that very government, whose *professed* policy it now is, when slave labor no longer enriches her, to cut asunder the tie that binds the slave to his master. I have dwelt longer on the origin of slavery in this country, and on the measures of the British Government, than I should otherwise have done, if I had not lately seen a letter written by an American, (whom I suppose to be Mr. Garrison,)\* in England, giving an account of the proceedings of a meeting of an anti-slavery association, in which he says. (I cite the sentiment, not having the paper before me, I do not know as I use the exact words,) he was ashamed of his country, and hid his face, for fear he should be recognized as an American. I do not envy the feelings of any American, who has thus spoken of his country in the face of the world; of the country that gave him birth, and to whose institutions he is indebted for whatever he possesses.—Ashamed of his country! Yes; of that country that is unrivalled in her free institutions—in her prosperity—in her enterprises—and in her march of intellect. Ashamed of that country, whose free in-

\* Professor Green, in a subsequent address, said the person alluded to was not Mr. G. but an American from Massachusetts. The error is corrected.

stitutions are models for those who are regaining their liberty, by disputing "the divine right of Kings!" If he was ashamed of his country, because slavery is tolerated here, and she had been reproached for it by Englishmen; why did he not avail himself of the occasion, to stand forth in defence of his country's honor, and trace the evils of slavery to the British Government, which forced them upon us, against our remonstrances, and our humble petitions?—Why did he not crimson the cheeks of a British audience, by advert-  
 ing to a treaty made by their government with Spain in 1713, stipulating to import 144,000 negroes to be held in perpetual slavery? If he had done this, it would have been in time for him afterwards, to have proclaimed, he was ashamed of his country, and have hid his face in view of her dishonor!

Slavery was legalized in most if not in all the states, at the commencement, and until after the close of the revolution; and at the south, property to a large amount was vested in slaves. The number of slaves in the middle and eastern states, was comparatively small; and early measures were taken by a part of them, for a gradual emancipation of those they held in bondage. The whites were sufficient for all the purposes of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; and the immediate removal of all the blacks, would not seriously have effected any of these great interests; nor was the individual loss of property very great, when the abolition of slavery took place. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of the white population in New-York, and the great disparity between the number of the whites and the blacks, still slavery has existed there until within a very short period. During the war, and under the confederation, the states retained their sovereignty and power over the subject; and it was not until the formation of the constitution, that the power to check the slave trade was relinquished to the general government. There are those in this audience whose ages warrant me in saying, they know from having lived at that period; and those who have since come upon the stage, must have learned from their general reading, that the articles of confederation were found to be wholly inadequate for the purpose of either conducting our internal concerns, or maintaining our commerce abroad, or for discharging our duty towards the Indian tribes—and that the period for forming a General Government, was looked for with the deepest solicitude, by most of those who had been the most conspicuous in conducting the nation through the war. Mutual jealousies, and conflicting interests existed, and to allay the one, and conciliate the other, put in requisition, all the wisdom, intelligence and prudence, that so pre-eminently distinguished the statesmen of that period. Each State was sovereign, and political power was to be so adjusted, as to impart to the general government sufficient to answer the great ends of its creation, with the least violation of the rights of the states, of which

the object of the grant was susceptible. The number of slaves at the formation of the constitution, in the states of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, exceeded six hundred thousand; whose value to the owners was more than one hundred and eighty millions of dollars. The states were embarrassed by a protracted war, that had wasted their finances, and heavily taxed human life in achieving their independence. If the abolition of slavery had then been demanded, the convention that met at Philadelphia on the 14th of May 1787, to form a constitution, would not have remained in session a day. The present generation cannot form an accurate idea of that important crisis, without attentively examining the resolutions passed by the legislatures of the respective states, approving the call of a convention. The independence of the states had been acknowledged; but there was no controlling power over them; civil divisions were engendered; they were not secure at home, nor respected abroad. The language of the Virginia act, expressed the almost universal sentiment that then prevailed throughout all the states. "The crisis is arrived at which the good people of America are to decide the solemn question, whether they will by wise and magnanimous efforts, reap the just fruits of that independence which they have so gloriously acquired, and of that union which they have cemented with so much of their common blood; or whether by giving way to unmanly jealousies, and prejudices, or to partial and transitory interests, they will renounce the auspicious blessings prepared for them by the revolution, and furnish to its enemies an eventual triumph over those, by whose virtue and valor, it has been accomplished. The same extended and noble policy, and the same fraternal and affectionate sentiments, which originally determined the citizens of this commonwealth to unite with their brethren of the other states, in establishing a federal government, cannot but be felt with equal force now, as motives to lay aside every inferior consideration, and to concur in such further concessions and provisions, as may be necessary to secure the great objects for which that government was instituted, and to render the United States as happy in peace, as they have been glorious in war."

It was not until after the adoption of the constitution, that the European powers, and particularly Great Britain, abandoned the fond hope, that we should not be able to establish a general, or maintain a republican form of government.

A perplexing and difficult question to dispose of by the convention, was the basis of representation: but no one presumed to doubt the master held his slave, as an article of property wholly without the power of the general government to control; while the political weight which should be given to him, was deemed to be within the scope of the powers of the convention, and to be settled by compact.

You all know the representation for the slaves was fixed at three-fifths. Taxation, without representation, had been one of the grievances complained of by the colonies; and if the slaves had been excluded from any representation, the free States, to preserve the semblance of consistency, must have discharged the debt of the revolution, and have borne in all after times the expenses of the Government, according to the representation of the white population. If the abolition of slavery had been proposed, the South would have insisted on an equivalent, which was without the power of the other States to have yielded or given.

Why the slave trade was not prohibited, at the formation of the Constitution, is less satisfactory to my mind. The committee of detail to whom the drafting of a constitution was referred, consisted of Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, Mr. Randolph of Virginia, Mr. Willson of Pennsylvania, Mr. Gorham of Massachusetts, and Mr. Ellsworth of Connecticut. A majority of this committee was from the non-slaveholding States. The committee reported on the 6th of August 1787, after the convention had been in session near three months, and after the various propositions and amendments had been freely and at length discussed. The 4th section of the 7th article was as follows: "No tax, or other duty, shall be laid by the Legislature on articles exported from any state, nor on the migration, or importation, of such persons as the several states shall think proper to admit: nor shall such migration or importation be prohibited."

On the 21st of August, a motion was made to insert the word "free" before the word "persons," so as to restrict the prohibition to such "*free persons*" as the several States should think proper to admit. This motion was not decided; nor do the journals show by whom it was made; and on the next day, this section with others were referred to a committee appointed by ballot, consisting of one member from each State. This committee consisted of Mr. Langdon of New Hampshire, Mr. King of Massachusetts, Mr. Johnston of Connecticut, Mr. Livingston of New Jersey, Mr. Clymer of Pennsylvania, Mr. Dickinson of Delaware, Mr. Martin of Maryland, Mr. Madison of Virginia, Mr. Williamson of North Carolina, Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina, and Mr. Baldwin of Georgia. On the 24th of August, Mr. Livingston reported the following, as a substitute for so much of the 4th article of the 7th section as was referred to the committee: "The migration or importation of such persons as the several states now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Legislature prior to the year 1800; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such migration or importation, at a rate not exceeding the average of the duties laid on imports." On the next day the time within which slaves might be imported was extended to the year 1808. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecti-

ent, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, voting in the affirmative ; and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia in the negative. The section was further amended without a division, by inserting a clause that Congress might impose a tax of ten dollars for each person, so imported ; and the section thus amended was agreed to, without a division, as it now stands in the constitution. It thus appears, that the importation of slaves without restriction, was recommended by a committee, a majority of whom was from the free states ; that afterwards, a member from New Jersey made a report limiting the period to 1800 ; that all the New England states, represented in the convention, voted to extend the time to 1808, while Delaware and Virginia voted in the negative. If the New England states had voted in the negative, the proposition would not have carried. I have not concocted these facts, by way of censure, or reproach : for more enlightened patriotic and benevolent men, never represented New England in the national councils, than those who participated in the formation of the constitution. It is a subject of deep regret, however, in which the Southern states participate, that the slave trade was not prohibited by the convention, from and after the adoption of the constitution.

The different censuses show the number of slaves to be as follows : In 1790, 697,697 ; in 1800, 896,849 ; in 1810, 1,191,364 ; in 1820, 1,538,128 ; and in 1830, 2,011,320.

The alarming increase of slaves, had attracted the attention of several distinguished gentlemen at the south, long before the formation of the Colonization Society, in the winter of 1816 and '17. Various projects were suggested, and among them was one to colonize the free blacks on the western vacant lands. This was objectionable, as they might in the process of time become dangerous neighbors. Another was to make an arrangement with the colony at Sierra Leone. Mr. Jefferson opened a correspondence with the company, under a resolution passed by the Legislature of Virginia in 1801 ; but without success. Dr. Thornton, of Washington, in 1787, made arrangements to plant a colony on the western coast of Africa, by emigrants from Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, which failed for the want of funds. The idea of colonizing the free people of color, and such as might be emancipated for that purpose, has never been abandoned by very many of the distinguished men in Virginia, from the time it was suggested by Mr. Jefferson in 1777, to the present time ; and the cause has, during all this period, gained strength.

Various causes have conspired to retard the prosecution of a plan, prompted by a sense of justice, the peace and friendship of the white population, and the most enlarged philanthropy. From the peace of 1783, to 1787, we had no General Government ; and the states, as well as individuals, were employed in repairing the losses

sustained by the war. After the adoption of the constitution, several years were consumed in organizing the Government, and suppressing internal dissensions. From the commencement of the French revolution, to the dethronement of Buonaparte, the European powers were engaged in desolating wars, except at short intervals ; and during the same period, our own commerce was swept from the ocean by the two great belligerent powers ; or suffered to perish by the enactment of our own Government ; and we were involved in a war of near three years continuance. Until peace was restored, the time was not propitious for maturing any extensive scheme for ameliorating the condition of any large portion of the human family. More has been accomplished since 1815, to elevate the moral character of man, in the establishment or extension of bible societies, sabbath schools, foreign and domestic missions, education and temperate societies—and for the relief of the indigent in the organization of humane associations—and for reclaiming the vicious, in the establishment of houses for juvenile delinquents, in the principal towns and cities—and for relieving the distressed, in the establishment of hospitals and asylums—than was accomplished in the previous century. Miracles have not been wrought ; but the deaf and dumb have become learned in the sciences, and the blind have been taught to read ; whole tribes and nations in the South Seas have been christianized—the ignorant have been instructed—the intemperate have been reclaimed—and the indigent and distressed relieved. The policy of kingdoms and states, has radically changed. Formerly, all difficulties between sovereign powers, not arranged by treaty, were decided by force ; now, wars have nearly ceased, by appealing to reason, and a moral sense of right and wrong, or by the arbitrament of another sovereign power. Such is the era in which we live. Among the most important of all the associations, of which our own time imparts any knowledge, or history records, whether considered as an act of justice to the degraded, and enslaved African, or in the light of the most liberal and enlarged philanthropy, or as the means of civilizing and christianizing one hundred and fifty millions of human beings—is the Colonization Society.

Peace, having removed the many obstacles created by a state of war, against restoring to Africa her long oppressed sons, the Rev. Robert Finley, a respectable clergyman in New-Jersey, “of great humanity and benevolence,” took the first efficient step to organize an association for colonizing free people of color on the western coast of Africa. He was a man of untiring perseverance, of the most active zeal, of exemplary piety, of sincerity and humility, and well qualified for so great a work. He had bestowed upon it much deep reflection ; and having come to the conclusion that the plan was practicable, and that the benefits would be unspeakably great

in reference to the country, to the blacks themselves, and to Africa, he repaired to Washington, in December, 1816, for the purpose of enlisting several distinguished men to second his views. He went from house to house, and from chamber to chamber, to bespeak for his project a favorable consideration. His efforts proving successful, he called a meeting and organized a society, on the 28th of December, 1816. True, he did not long survive—but he saw in prospective the slaves freed from their bondage, and restored to the land of their fathers, and Africa raised from her degradation, to take her stand among the nations of the earth. He was not permitted like Moses from Mount Nebo, to see the goodly land, with his natural eyes; but like Moses he died with the full assurance, that Africa would be reclaimed and redeemed. He might have said of Africa as Moses spake of Israel: “Happy art thou, O Africa; who is like unto thee, O people saved of the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency! and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee, and thou shalt tread upon their high places.”

At this meeting Bushrod Washington presided, and it was composed of gentlemen from different sections of the United States, whose confidence was strengthened, by the zeal and full assurance of the reverend progenitor of the scheme. Fame will claim this little band as hers, and the name of Finley will be inscribed high on her roll.—The novelty, and vastness of the undertaking, precluded for a while, the adoption of any efficient measures for commencing the colony, farther than to prepare the public for co-operating in it. The scheme was without governmental patronage, and without funds; and had nothing to recommend it, but its own intrinsic merits. It had to encounter prejudices of opposite characters. At the south, it was represented to be a scheme of the free states, to lessen the political power of the slaveholding states, and to spread a general discontent among the slaves, which in time would break out into open and devastating rebellion. At the north, it was said, the scheme originated with the slaveholders, whose motives were to send off a few of the more enlightened free blacks, that they might rivet more firmly the fetters of the slaves. The war left us burdened with a national debt, of about \$130,000,000, and the people greatly embarrassed by speculations in bank stock, and other property, and by overtrading. Property throughout the country in five years fell fifty per cent. in value, and in very many instances our most enterprising citizens, who had fondly anticipated they were accumulating fortunes, on being pressed for their debts, learned with sorrow they were bankrupts. The society depended on voluntary contributions to prosecute her designs, and these could not be obtained, for the reasons assigned. In no wise daunted by these embarrassments, several pious, patriotic, humane, and benevolent persons, were unremitting in their devotion to the cause. Knowing its success, un-

der Providence, depended wholly on public sentiment; they spent much of their time in removing the prejudices, which designing or misguided men had excited against it, and in demonstrating the practicability of planting a colony on the shores of Africa; and in informing the benefits that would follow to this country, to the blacks, and to Africa. Never have exertions been crowned with more favorable results. Opposition has been arraigned before the judgment seat of reason, and has confessed her error; and prejudice, the most unconquerable enemy to the success of any benevolent measure, has yielded to the light of truth. There are some lamentable exceptions to these remarks.

Fourteen states have passed resolutions approving the plan of colonization, and almost every ecclesiastical body in the United States, has recommended the society to the patronage of the christian community.

In 1819, the Rev. Mr. Mills, who in early life was distinguished for his zeal in foreign missions, and for his philanthropy, with Mr. Burgess, embarked for Africa, by the way of England, for the purpose of obtaining information as to the suitableness of the western coast of Africa, for establishing a colony; and having visited Sierra Leone, and the intermediate posts to Sherbro, he set sail for the United States in May 1820, and died on his passage. The christian spectator thus spoke of the voyage, and of Mr. Mills' death: "The memory of this voyage is consecrated in the hearts of christians, by the fact, that soon after they left Africa, Samuel John Mills, the man of God, whose name is so intimately associated with almost every great moral improvement which has been made on our continent, finished this work which God has given him to do, and entered on his reward in Heaven."

By the act of congress of the 2d of March, 1807, prohibiting the slave trade after the time limited in the constitution should expire, it was provided, that all Africans brought into the United States in violation of the act, might be disposed of, as the legislature of the respective states and territories should prescribe. The legislature of Georgia, directed they should be sold after sixty days notice, unless the colonization society would take them and pay all expenses incurred by the state after their capture and condemnation. Thirty-eight negroes, thus captured, were advertised for sale on the 3d of May, 1819, at the capitol of Georgia. The colonization society availing itself of the provision of the act of Georgia, "paid the expenses incurred by the state, and rescued the victims of piratical cupidity from a perpetual slavery." If there are any present who entertain the idea that the object or tendency of the society is to perpetuate or extend slavery, I request them to consider this humane and benevolent act, (and many others might be cited,) as strong, if not conclusive evidence, against the opinion they have formed

The first vessel that sailed for Africa with emigrants, was the Elizabeth, in 1820, about four years after the organization of the society. She carried out an agent of the society, two agents of the government, and about eighty emigrants, a part of whom were the captured Africans. No territory at this time had been purchased, and the vessel discharged the party at the Island of Sherbro, situate near the coast, between Sierra Leone, and Cape Montserado. Sherbro was in the possession of a black from South Carolina, by the name of Kizzel, who had joined the British during the revolutionary war, and had established a small colony on the Island in an unhealthy situation. The agents supposed he was friendly to the cause of colonization; but there are reasons for believing, the great sacrifice of human life, was occasioned by the bad quality of the water, which he recommended as being healthy; but which it was afterwards discovered he did not use himself. The three agents, and thirty-five of the emigrants, soon paid the debt of nature. The sickness of the survivors was immediately checked, on their removal to a more healthy situation.

In December 1821, Dr. Ayres, the Society's Agent, with Lieut. Stockton of the Navy, after overcoming difficulties of no ordinary character, made a treaty with several Kings and head men, for the site at Cape Montserado, unparalleled on the coast for its elevation, healthiness, and beauty. From this period the efficient operations of the Society should be dated. The Kings who made the grant, under the influence of the slave dealers, in the month of December 1822, attempted to regain possession of the ceded territory by force; and attacked the settlement with 800 men, which during the siege, were increased to 1500, who were repulsed by 28 men and boys, the entire efficient force of the colony. Mr. and Mrs. Ashmun, with 35 colonists, and 15 captured Africans, arrived at the colony from Baltimore on the 8th of August 1822, and the defence of the settlement, aided by a kind and preserving providence, was mainly owing to the cool and intrepid valor of Mr. Ashmun, who united in an eminent degree, those high qualities which fitted him for the difficult and responsible station he voluntarily tendered his services to fill. After having resided at the colony several years, during which time he organized the Government, established schools and churches, his health became impaired, and he returned to New Haven in Connecticut, with the hope a change of climate might renew his constitution; but after lingering a short time, his earthly career was terminated by death, to the grief of thousands on both continents. When this last expedition was fitted out, personal aid was sought for the specific object, by Bishop Mead, one of the Society's earliest and most steadfast friends, and by Charles Fenton Mercer, (both of Virginia) whose benevolence extends to the whole human family. They visited Baltimore, and begged from house to house, in behalf of an

expedition, whose departure, as if enlightened by the spirit of prophecy, they believed was destined to preserve the existence of the colony.\*

I wish this venerable prelate, and his zealous coadjutor, were here to address you in behalf of a cause that has been grossly misrepresented or misunderstood. I am quite certain, the vivid representations they would give you of the evils of slavery, as they are experienced and acknowledged, by thousands and tens of thousands at the south—of the apprehensions they entertain, that life and property will eventually be put at imminent hazard, unless the black population shall be removed—and of the tender compassion they feel for this degraded and injured portion of the human family, would obliterate every unkind feeling you may have entertained against many of the slave holders—and their pathetic appeals to your humanity for aid, would be responded to by liberal contributions. In 1821, the colony consisted of 140, and in 1824, of 240, and in 1832 of 2001—exclusive of 100 captured Africans, who were restored to their country at the expense of the United States. The number of scholars taught in three schools, on the 2d of January 1832, was 175; and the branches taught were spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar. The colony now falls but little if any short of 3000. The commerce of the colony is in a most prosperous and flourishing condition. The exports consist principally of dye woods, ivory, hides, gold, palm oil, and rice, whose value in 1831, amounted to \$88,911, and were considerably more than the value of the exports from the whole of the Connecticut Reserve by the Lake, in any one of the first twenty years after the settlements commenced. Coffee, and the tropical fruits, grow spontaneously, and the soil and climate are favorable to the culture of cotton. The name of Liberia was given to a site at Cape Montserado, at the seventh anniversary of the society, on the 20th of February 1824—and denotes “a settlement of persons made free.” The designation was given by Robert Goodloe Harper, of Baltimore, a man eminent for his talents, for his private virtues, and public munificence.

The problem which remained doubtful for some time, whether a colony could be established, whose capacity would enable it to re-

\* Since delivering this address, I have ascertained that Bishop Mead was not with Mr. Mercer, at Baltimore; but that it was Francis S. Key, Esq. of Georgetown, one of the managers of the Colonization Society, who, with Mr. Furvance, of Baltimore, spent fifteen days in personally soliciting pecuniary aid, to defray the cost of the first mission (that of Mr. Mills and Burgess) to Africa; and their exertions were amply rewarded, by the hospitable and humane citizens of that city. My allusion to the transaction was to disprove the assertions made by the abolitionists, that the founders and supporters of the Colonization Society, do not seek to mitigate the evils of slavery; and the proof is in no wise weakened by correcting the error. I was led to commit it, from misapprehending Mr. Mercer in some remarks he made before an adjourned meeting of the Colonization Society last winter; in which I understood him to refer to Bishop Mead, as the person who was with him at Baltimore: and that it was preparatory to the sailing of Mr. Ashmun. Bishop Mead, it is well known, has been for years, most zealously engaged in the cause of colonization, and has visited the southern states in its aid.

ceive any large portion of the black population of this country, is solved. Such a colony is established; and in its commerce, general prosperity, order and good government, challenges the history of all preceding ages for a parallel. In the providence of God, all great undertakings, materially effecting the condition of nations, have been beset with difficulties and embarrassments—the timid and irresolute have been alarmed; and they have hankered “after the flesh pots of Egypt,” and those possessed of the most ardent faith have at times doubted, whether they should pass over Jordan. It is beyond our comprehension, that Mills, Ashmun, and others, who have fallen martyrs to the cause of colonization, should have been removed from their spheres of usefulness, when so much apparently depended upon them: but who shall instruct God in wisdom, or dictate to him in accomplishing his designs, or set bounds to his power! An attentive perusal of the bondage and liberation of the children of Israel, would edify, and greatly instruct any one, inclined to oppose the restoration of the blacks to their country.

We have all marvelled again and again, that this chosen people should have been doomed to waste forty years of their lives, in traversing a wilderness before they were permitted to enter into the land of promise; and we have heaved a sigh of regret, that neither Aaron nor Moses, was permitted, after so much labor, toil and hardship, after having borne with patience the murmuring of their brethren—to enter the confines of the inheritance of their nation.

In the great work of restoring the descendants of Ham to the land of their fathers, and in civilizing and christianizing one entire quarter of the globe, the United States have been selected as the meet instrument.

Granville Sharp, took an active part in colonizing Africa as early as 1783; and he “may be regarded as the founder of Sierra Leone. Although this settlement has been under the fostering care of the British African Institution, it has accomplished but little in civilizing the natives. The American Colonization Society, has accomplished more in the period of ten years, to remove the gloom of night from Africa, than has been achieved by all the European powers. I am addressing a christian audience, who believe the words of inspiration will be fulfilled. You entertain no doubt the time will arrive, (and you have thought you have seen the twilight of the glorious day,) when the heathen nations shall be converted and take a stand, among the civilized, polished, and intelligent nations of the earth.—How is the blackness of darkness to be dispelled from Africa?—“which is still to us, what it was to the ancients thousands of years ago—the land of mystery.” Although “its coasts lie in sight of the most civilized countries in Europe, yet we know nothing more than its outlines; and into the interior, the foot of an European has lately for the first time penetrated.” In the period of Egypt’s great-

est prosperity, deep night seems to have enveloped the surrounding countries. Subsequently, the Greeks and the Romans, became better acquainted with the Mediterranean coast of Africa, and penetrated into the interior, perhaps as far as the river Joliba or the Niger; but their knowledge never reached beyond the confines of Numidia, and they were totally ignorant of the southern part of Africa. Its outlines were not determined until the 15th century."—Mungo Park, a recent traveller, supposed the Joliba, or the Niger of Herodotus, to run from west to east; but where its waters were discharged into the sea, if they were discharged at all, remained a profound mystery, until it was ascertained by the Landers in 1830, that they emptied into the Gulf of Guinea, at the cape of Formoso.

Do any of you entertain the vain expectation, that the word of life will be disseminated, through that vast continent, by Missionaries from Europe or America? How long have the heralds of salvation proclaimed the risen Saviour to the savages of our own country; and to the heathen nations of Asia? and how many trophies have they won? Suppose the gospel had been conveyed by their own kindred, how different do you suppose would have been the result?—Where will you find European or American Missionaries, in sufficient number to instruct 150,000,000 of barbarians; scattered over 12,256,000 square miles, stretching from 18 degrees of west, to the 51st of east longitude, and from the 34th degree of south to the 37th 30 minutes of north latitude, in a region, a part of which at least, they must encounter "the lifeless atmosphere of the tropics, where the heat of the sun is so terrible, that eggs are roasted in the sand, and the naked feet of the negroes are blistered." Or do you suppose the whole economy of God is to be changed, and this great work is to be accomplished without the use of instruments? that he will say as he did at the creation, when "darkness was upon the face of the deep—let there be light?" What part of divine inspiration has taught you, that without the use of means, "the spirit of God will move" over Africa, as it "moved upon the face of the waters?" It is true we read, "nations shall be born in a day," but we are informed also "the fallow ground" is to be prepared for the reception of the seed.

It is computed there are in Africa 150 languages spoken, of which 70 only are known to the civilized world. If you send civilization by Africans, not merely as missionaries, but by the formation of colonies, you disarm jealousy and discord, and you inspire that confidence, which will alone insure success. The influence of the colony has already had the most happy effect upon two of the neighboring tribes, whose kings have sent their children to the colony, to be instructed in the schools, and to be taught the mechanical and agricultural arts. The negroes are a simple, honest, inoffensive, but timid people, without a single trait of the savage ferocity that

distinguished the aborigines of this country. Their kindness and hospitality to the Landers, generally, would do honor to refined society. They have towns, and villages, whose markets are supplied with corn, rice, beef, mutton, different kinds of fowls, fish, butter, cheese, palm oil, beans and peas; and in some of the larger towns, thousands attend the market in a day. Bohoo, more than thirty days travel from the coast, in the kingdom of Yarriba, is inclosed by three walls, and in circumference is about 20 miles. It is not as compact, as the towns and cities in more civilized and commercial countries; but its population is vastly beyond what we have been accustomed to think any town in the interior of Africa possessed. The land in many parts of Western Africa lately explored, is of a deep rich soil, and will not lose by a comparison with the richest sections of England. The late explorations of western and central Africa, have furnished us with much information essentially necessary in the prosecution of the system of colonization. Is the plan of restoring the negroes to Africa chimerical? and if so, wherein? There is a grandeur in the conception, that throws into the shade the establishment of all other colonies, of which history gives us any account. A people have been torn from their country by violence, and have been sold into bondage. At a time when their labor is productive—when more than five hundred millions of money is vested in them, it is proposed to restore them by their consent, to their country and to freedom: and not only so, but to instruct, civilize and christianize them. Let your contemplations extend to the termination of but one century, and see the rich and fertile lands of Africa partitioned into farms, and cultivated by an intelligent, moral and industrious people. See her coasts, her bays, her inlets, and her noble rivers, whitened with the sails of every nation; not for the purpose of capturing her sons, but in the prosecution of a legitimate commerce.—See her villages, her towns, and her cities rising into splendor, administering to the comforts and convenience, and luxury, of her inhabitants. See that vast continent divided into different Republics! Go to her halls of legislation, and listen to the wisdom of her lawgivers; and to her courts of justice, and examine the pure ermine of her judges! Enter her temples, and mingle in the devotions of the altar, and see the prediction verified, that “the heathen shall cast their idols to the moles and to the bats.”

I am incapable of drawing even a faint outline of what Africa will be in a century, if this plan of colonization shall be prosecuted. It is in our power to repair, in a great measure at least, the injuries, that not only this country, but all other nations have inflicted on Africa. The United States was the first power that declared the slave trade piracy, and provided by law for the punishment of the offence by death. We have exhibited to the world how odious we consider this traffic, by declaring the perpetrators of it to be outlaws, and by

subjecting them to the same punishment, that is inflicted on the enemies of the human race.

Let us not stop here, but march on in the van of other nations in the great work of rescuing Africa from the deep night that has so long enveloped her in more than Egyptian darkness. "The valley of the Nile, was once the cradle of commerce, the arts and sciences; Syria, and Greece, and Italy, were indebted to Africa," for whatever of renown they possessed. Let this nation in the ardor of her youthful enterprises, restore to Africa the arts and sciences, of which she has so long been bereft.

Do any of you doubt the practicability of civilizing Africa? Why is this more difficult than to civilize people in other quarters of the globe? The most enlightened, polished, intelligent and refined portions of Europe, tradition and history inform us, were more savage and barbarous than Africa now is; and more can be achieved by the combined efforts of the people of the United States in a single year, to reclaim Africa, than it was in the power of any nation eighteen centuries ago, to have performed in the period of fifty years.

It has been said the condition of the blacks at the colony, is more miserable than it was in this country. On this point I only ask you to examine the evidence, and decide the question as you would, if you were called upon to decide a contested question in the jury box, or to administer justice on the bench. Thus situated, you would examine the testimony with care, and if you found it conflicting, you would ascertain the number of the witnesses called by each party, their means of having the facts about which they were called to give testimony; and you would become thoroughly acquainted with their characters, and the motives that might influence them in perverting the truth.

Were I concerned for the colony, I would present to you the testimony of Dr. Ayres, Mr. Ashmun, Dr. Randall, and Dr. Anderson, agents for the society—who resided at Liberia, and must have been intimately acquainted with the condition of the inhabitants, and with their comforts or their wants. They died martyrs to the cause, and their testimony is consecrated by their dying declarations. Mr. Ashmun in the last supplication he audibly addressed to his heavenly Father, a few hours before his death, while "the perspiration flowed from his pallid brow, and every feature expressed death," thus presented the colony for the benediction of that Being into whose presence he was sensible his disembodied spirit would soon appear: "O bless the colony, and that poor people among whom I have laboured."

I would present the testimony of Lieut. Dashiell, and of Richard Seton, of the United States, and Lieut. Gordon of the British Navy, and of three missionaries from Switzerland, and of several others, who have voluntarily met death in the service of a cause they belie-

ved demanded the sacrifice. I would ask you to listen to the testimony of captains Spence, Stockton, Nicholas and Kennedy, of the United States navy, and to captains Sherman and Abels, and to the agents that have been sent from different sections of the United States, by the colored people, for the purpose of obtaining correct information, and to the most intelligent of the colonists, and to the testimony of Mr. Devany, high sheriff of the colony, taken before a committee of the House of Representatives, in May, 1830. If you scan the characters of these witnesses, you will find them unimpeached, and unimpeachable. The testimony of some of them, has been given under oath; of others, under the weight of no ordinary confidence reposed in them; and again, of others on their death beds—a situation the most likely to elicit the truth. I would challenge my opponent in the face of this testimony (if he had not left the court) to bring forward his witnesses. And who do you think they are? A few discontented colonists, such as you find in every new settlement; who are too lazy to work, destitute of economy, and would have found fault with Providence, if they had been placed in the garden of Eden: or a few fanatics, whose intellects on some subjects are partially deranged: or a few editors, who cannot support a newspaper without creating, and keeping up an excitement. There may be some politicians offered upon the stand, who would be glad to see the government tumble into ruins; and perhaps some who are slave holders, and slave dealers, who have become alarmed from the apprehension, that the moral influence of the society will eventually rid the country of slaves. To all these witnesses, except the first class, I would object, on the well settled principle, that hearsay testimony is inadmissible. They know nothing themselves in the case.

There is not a person here, unless his judgment is blinded by prejudice of no ordinary kind, who would not give a verdict in favor of the colony without leaving the box. When I speak of fanatics, I do not include all who are opposed to the colonization society.—There are many men who have honestly formed the opinion, not from evidence, but from the declarations of others—that the officers and managers of the colonization society, have been guilty of a dereliction of duty, or that they have been governed by sinister motives, and do not desire to lessen the evils of slavery; but whose object they think is, to perpetuate slavery, by sending off the most intelligent free blacks. I would request such persons to ascertain, who the officers of the society have been, and now are, and what foundation there is for so serious a charge. You will find them men of pure characters, of strict integrity, and of disinterested benevolence and humanity. Men who have rendered important services to the country, in her councils, in the field, on the bench, in the halls of legislation, and in the desk. The first President was Bushrod Washington; after his death, Charles Carrol was appointed; and after

his death, James Madison, who is now in office. Among the Vice Presidents, I will enumerate Judge Marshal, Gen. La Fayette, Henry Clay, Bishop White, Daniel Webster, Charles F. Mercer, President Day, Bishop McKendree, John Cotton Smith, and Theodore Frelinghuysen.

The managers sustain the highest respectability, and have bestowed years of labor in the cause, without any pecuniary compensation. Their reward is the approbation of their consciences, and the consoling reflection, that they have discharged their responsible duties with zeal and fidelity, and with an eye single to the benefit of the African race. The secretary is the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who with the other officers named, is ex-officio a member of the board of managers. He has devoted several years of his valuable life in advancing the cause of colonization; and a more pure, upright and benevolent man I have never found; and to him, as much as to any one man, is the credit due for the present flourishing condition of the colony.

These are the men, with their compeers, whose motives are condemned without the slightest evidence; the more effectually to awaken your jealousy, and to cause you to withhold your confidence and support from the society. If it was the object of the officers and managers to rivet more firmly the fetters of the slaves, as you have been told it is, by a man whose testimony stands before you impeached, why, I ask of you, have they rescued the captive Africans from the operations of the laws of Georgia, and returned them to their country? Why have they encouraged, and still do encourage the manumission of slaves, on condition of their being sent to Africa? Of all the falsehoods that have been fabricated to deceive a humane, and confiding people, this is the most infamously base; and is so proven to be, by every act of the society. The act of May, 1820, declaring the slave trade piracy, owes its existence to Charles Fenton Mercer, an officer of the society. He followed this up by a resolution he introduced into the house of representatives, "requesting the President of the United States to enter upon and to prosecute from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe, and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the laws of nations by the consent of the civilized world"—which passed almost unanimously towards the close of the 17th congress. Immediately after the passage of this resolution, Mr. Adams, then Secretary of State, opened a correspondence with Mr. Canning, the British Minister at Washington, and with the European and American governments, with the view of bringing some general concert of action by the civilized powers of the world, to put a stop to the nefarious traffic in human beings. The British government was unwilling for a while to give up her fa-

vorite proposition, of stipulating for the right of search—a principle most odious to us. This government was informed by Viscount de Chateaubriand on behalf of the French government, that such was the influence of the slave holders in her colonies, that no minister in France was strong enough, to carry our proposition through the chamber of deputies.

Most of the European and American powers have, however, entered into such stipulations.

Notwithstanding these arrangements were the most energetic that could have been devised, and although they have been executed by some of the powers in good faith, it is a well ascertained fact, that the slave trade still exists to an extent that shocks humanity. It is computed that there have been annually for several years 100,000 slaves deported from Africa. The number of slaves captured by British vessels, and emancipated, in nine years, from 1819 to 1828, according to Mr. Walsh ~~amounting to 10,000~~—The heart sickens in reviewing the wrongs of Africa. It is stated in the Encyclopedia Americana “that within two centuries and a half, Africa has contributed forty millions of vigorous men to the slave trade, and notwithstanding is any thing but depopulated.”

The trade is arrested along the coast for about two hundred miles, extending to the north of Sierra Leone, and south of Liberia. Experience incontestibly establishes the fact, that no other mode will stop this inhuman traffic, than by establishing colonies along the coast. Do you desire it should be terminated? Are your feelings shocked that so many human beings prematurely suffer the most excruciating death, by being crammed into slave ships, “enclosed under grated hatchways between decks, where the space is so low that they set between each others’ legs, and stowed so close together, that there is no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position night or day,” where they scarcely have food enough to sustain animal life, and where a drop of water is as earnestly supplicated, as it was by the rich man in torment? Or do you revolt at the idea, that the survivors are to waste their lives in bondage? If so, enlist under the banner of the colonization society, and you will effectually put a stop to a repetition of these cruelties. Not only will Africa be civilized, and the slave trade abolished, but this country will be freed of a part of our population by the operation of the society, and in a manner entirely acceptable to the slave holders, and without producing any commotion; and without violating any feature of the constitution. The society is constantly gaining strength at the south, the field of its operations; and the hearts of thousands are inclined to free their slaves, when the funds of the society shall defray the expense of their emigration. Although it appears to very many, even of those who are in favor of colonization, that but little has been done for the time the society has had an existence, my own

opinion is, that as much has been accomplished as is consistent with the welfare and perpetuity of the settlement. The emigrants should be sent no faster, than they can be provided for when they arrive, and not in such numbers as to endanger the peace and good order of the government. I am firm in the belief, if it was thought advisable in relation to the colony, to press emigration, and the society had funds at its disposal, that ten thousand slaves would immediately be offered by their owners, on the condition they should be sent to Liberia. There is no want of subjects, nor will there be at any time hereafter ; but they will be gratuitously purchased, as the cause of civilization shall progress in Africa.

The liberal appropriations made by the states of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, in aid of colonization, are cheering indications, that the time is not far distant when the blacks will be removed from these states, and their places supplied by a more useful, industrious and intelligent population.

I have seen an article republished, which originally appeared in the *Genius of Temperance*, designed to mislead the public in relation to the views of the American and Maryland colonization societies.—The main point in the article is, that the American colonization society does not contemplate emancipation, nor to benefit the slave, while the Maryland colonization society takes a different stand, and has taken a step for the avowed purpose of abolishing slavery. I say the article was designed to mislead ; because I cannot believe the writer was so ignorant as not to know he was making a misrepresentation. The American colonization society never has, by any act nor by any declaration, said it did not contemplate emancipation, nor to benefit the slave. These may be ranked among its primary objects, to be effected by the force of moral influence. They have said they did not contemplate to interfere in the right of property, nor directly disturb the relationship that exists between the master and the slave. They act by moral influence, and by that alone ; and thus far it has been found to be more potent than was anticipated.—This is proven by the number of slaves voluntarily tendered to the society ; and by the number of auxiliary societies established throughout the southern country ; and by the proceedings in several state legislatures ; and by the increase of friends to the cause. The views of the two societies are the same, and the greatest harmony exists between them ; and if there is any dissension or distrust, it has arisen from the apprehension that the American colonization society may possibly be influenced by evil counsellors, who will press the question of immediate abolition, without making adequate provision for removing the blacks to Africa.

The Maryland colonization society, may contemplate the establishment of a colony at Cape Palmas ; and if so, I think the project will be fully approved by the general society. If the states would

undertake the colonization of their own blacks, the general society would be relieved from a part of the responsibility that rests upon it, and funds would be more liberally contributed. If the operation of the society shall rid this country of the blacks, and within a period as soon as it is consistent with the interests and the welfare of both master and slave ; and if the slave trade shall cease longer to exist : and if Africa shall be civilized and christianized ; I appeal to you, whether the society does not merit your hearty co-operation and support ? That all this will be accomplished, I entertain no doubt, unless prevented by the new scheme of immediate abolition.

If the position has been maintained, that the colonization society merits your confidence, little need be said in opposition to immediate abolition. Two objections exist against it. 1st, it is not practicable ; and 2d, if it was, it is not expedient. It is not practicable, without the consent of the slave holding states, which cannot, under any circumstances, be obtained either by persuasion or force. I have touched on the condition of the states before the constitution was formed, and we all know the general government was established by the people of the respective states ; each state surrendering a part of its sovereignty, for the general benefit of all of them. We have seen that the interest the master had in his slave, was guaranteed to him by the constitution, and that the value of this property at this time amounts to more than five hundred millions of dollars. The holders of this property would not generally surrender it at once, because in very many cases, bankruptcies must inevitably follow : but more weighty objections exist with them ; which are that the slaves are in a better condition than they would be, if they were suffered to remain in this country ; and that both castes in the proportion they exist in the southern states, could not live together in a state of freedom.

The abolitionists demand, that the entire value of the property invested in slaves, shall be immediately sunk to the owners. And when is this demand made ? After the slave holders have borne on the principle of representation, their proportion of the debt incurred by the revolutionary war, and the late war with Great Britain. It seems to me it would have been more magnanimous, more in accordance with the principle of justice and good faith, if the demand had been made, when, if it had prevailed, the slave holding states, would have been obliged to have discharged the ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> rates of the white population. Do they propose to give any compensation for this sacrifice of property ? or to grant any equivalent, so that the states shall be placed on a footing of equality as they were before the union was formed ? I have heard of none. All must perceive the loss falls on one portion of the United States. If the slaves must be immediately emancipated, inasmuch as the evil is national, ought not the owners to be paid their value from a fund to be raised by levying direct taxes ? As the holding of slaves by others, is made a

subject of conscience, no honest man, who views the circumstances attending the holding of this species of property, and is willing to apply the golden rule, "do to others as you would wish to be done by," will object to pay his proportion of such tax, if by his influence the slaves are to be emancipated. The whole white population of the United States, according to the last census, is 10,526,248; and of Ohio, 928,093; and of Portage county, 18,827; and of Tallmadge, 1,218. The amount to be paid by the state of Ohio is \$44,072,168; by Portage county, \$889,077 52-100; and by Tallmadge, \$58,171 68-100. The tax on every white person in the United States, if paid per capita, is \$47 76-100. The estimate of the value of the slaves is taken, from what I believe was the lowest value fixed by the commissioners under the treaty of Ghent; and it is the lowest amount paid by the United States, for negroes captured by the Indians.

I will leave it to yourselves to estimate the amount each one is to pay according to the value of his property. If you consider this tax onerous, how much heavier will the burden be borne by the least populous section of the United States; and aside from the property vested in slaves, the least able to bear it. If there was no other impediment in the way, than the amount of property that is involved, you could not prevail on the southern states to emancipate their slaves at once. We should not do it, if we were in their situation. If persuasion will not effect the object, force will be then recommended; and when this shall be exercised in a matter clearly without the constitution, the union will be dissolved of course. This will be the inevitable result, and still, the slaves will be held in servitude. It was from the firm conviction, that this would follow, that I was led in the fore part of this address to admonish you, to pause before you became identified with a party, whose predominance will dispense with the celebration of this national anniversary.

Two new confederacies may be formed; and the people of the northern one may, in their zeal for the freedom of the blacks, distribute inflammatory publications, portraying the blessings of liberty, and the inhumanity of slavery; and they may furnish them with the implements and munitions of war, and excite them to rise upon their masters, and to carry on an exterminating massacre, regardless of age and sex. That the war would be one of extermination to one or the other party, there can be no doubt. If the blacks prevailed, would the northern confederacy unite with them? No one believes she would. They would be in possession of the south, and of the southwestern portion of the United States, contiguous to Cuba, and the West India Islands, where the blacks are supposed also to be free. In this event stranger things have taken place, than that the blacks, with the aid of their countrymen on the contiguous Islands, should gain possession of the northern confederacy.

But aside from these forebodings of violences, what privileges are

the blacks to enjoy when they shall be emancipated? Are they to have the right of citizenship? If so, they are to be represented in Congress, to hold offices, and to have their due influence in administering the government. Are you willing to commit your destinies in any manner to them, and to mingle your counsels with theirs, on the great questions of peace and war?

If the blacks were freed, and were permitted to remain in this country, their condition would be more miserable and degraded than it is now. Such has been the case heretofore, with the exception of a few house servants; and we have no reason to anticipate a different result hereafter. If you have any compassion for them, I implore you, in behalf of humanity, not to add to their wretchedness. I am aware the movements in this country, have been accelerated, and have gained strength by the proceedings in the British Parliament. We should be on our guard against any measures of the British government, which are in any way calculated to affect our interests or our political connection. That government did not realize the fond hope she had cherished, that the dissatisfaction at the South, would terminate in a repeal of our impost duties, or the dismemberment of the Union. She knows full well how sensitive the Southern states are on the subject of slavery, and how easy it is to foment divisions among us in relation to it. The spread of liberal principles are alarming to her, as it is to other monarchical governments. A dismemberment of the Union would be hailed by every crowned head in Christendom with joy, as it would secure power in the hands of a few.

I will not be over jealous of Great Britain, but would view all her acts having any bearing on our interests, and political connections, with as much charity as is consistent with a watchful vigilance for our peace and prosperity. I will suppose the propositions, now under discussion in Parliament, were offered in good faith, and that slavery will be abolished on the terms contained in Mr. Stanley's project. Do you entertain no fears for the consequences to the white population on the Islands? I do not speak of the consequences as to property; for it seems to be conceded that there will inevitably be a general destruction of it: but I speak of the consequences to the personal security of the whites and to their lives. Mr. Stanley, in his remarks, however, seems to think, that after about twelve years, the ignorant negroes in the West Indies will make very good citizens. If he be correct in this, how encouraging it is to persevere in the cause of colonization, by which the blacks are restored to their country, where there is no diversity of color, or grades in society, to awaken jealousy and ill will?

In the early part of the session, Earl Grey was asked the question what protection was to be given to the whites, if slavery should be abolished? He promptly replied, 15,000 troops were ready to sail

for the West Indies. Is there any one here prepared to vote for raising a standing army, to go to the southern states, to give permanent protection to the inhabitants, whose lives will be periled by freeing the blacks? We should all give them protection in case of insurrections, which would not be likely to occur very frequently, when the blacks have not the use of fire arms; but how will it be when they are freemen, and shall be striving for the mastery?

A standing army must be kept up, not of 6,000, but of 50,000 men, from which strong detachments must be stationed in different sections of the southern states. If the blacks shall be freed, and this protection shall not be given, if your affections shall not be alienated from your brethren of the south, your hearts will be torn with grief, by the recital of massacres more barbarous than those of St. Domingo, or more recently at Scio. If slavery shall be abolished in the British Islands, the whites will abandon them if they are not protected, unless they fall by the hand of violence before they can make their escape; and such also will be the case in the southern states.

But suppose I am too much alarmed—is there not some good reason to apprehend the experiment will not succeed, as well as the abolitionists anticipate? Will it not be prudent for us to wait, and see what the result will be, if the experiment shall be tried in the British West India Islands? Is the British government eager to enlighten the ignorant; to do justice, and to relieve the oppressed?—Let her commence at home, by instructing the brilliant, but uninformed children of the peasantry in Ireland; let her restore Ireland to her rank as a nation; or let her give to Irishmen the same political rights possessed by Englishmen. Ireland! oppressed and degraded Ireland! might well demand a portion of the sympathy that is awakened in the bosoms of Englishmen in behalf of suffering humanity.

It is in vain for you to attempt to shut your eyes against seeing, that the scheme of abolition if persisted in, and shall predominate in the free states, must inevitably lead to a dissolution of the Union. A dark cloud blackened our political horizon during the past year, which threatened the destruction of the only free and enlightened Republic. You all felt the danger, and you rejoiced when you saw it had ceased to exist. Although the pretended grievance was urged in common by all the southern states, still there was a division of opinion, as to the proper remedy, and those who were the advocates of nullification were in a lean majority. It will be otherwise on the question of immediate abolition. No love of country, no attachment to the union, will disunite them; but all will prefer a separation, to the immediate emancipation of their slaves. They would hope in that event, to be able by their own strength, or by seeking the protection of some foreign power, to save their own lives from car-

nage, and their property from pillage, and conflagration; which they think, and know, would inevitably follow an immediate and general emancipation.

When driven to this extremity, the humanity of Britain will be awakened, not in behalf of the blacks, but of the whites, whose commerce and trade will give employment to her suffering poor at home. If the plan shall be generally sustained in the free states, a conflict with the south cannot be avoided if the fomenters of the excitement can get men to go there, and imbrue their hands in the blood of their southern brethren.

You agree to wage war against the south to redress the wrongs of the blacks. *Volunteers* are called for. Appeals are made to your justice, to your humanity, to your love of country, and to the obligations that bind you to relieve the oppressed. These appeals are made at your fire sides, at your ordinary assemblies, in your halls of legislation, in your courts of justice, and from the desk.—The excitement is raised to a high pitch, and many an ardent youth, whose patriotism has been warmed by a recital of what was achieved during the war of the revolution, pants to gain a trophy, or to die on the battle field! Strike high the martial note, and present the enrollment! Is there a father here who will tell his son, that the call is that of God and his country, and that he must obey it?

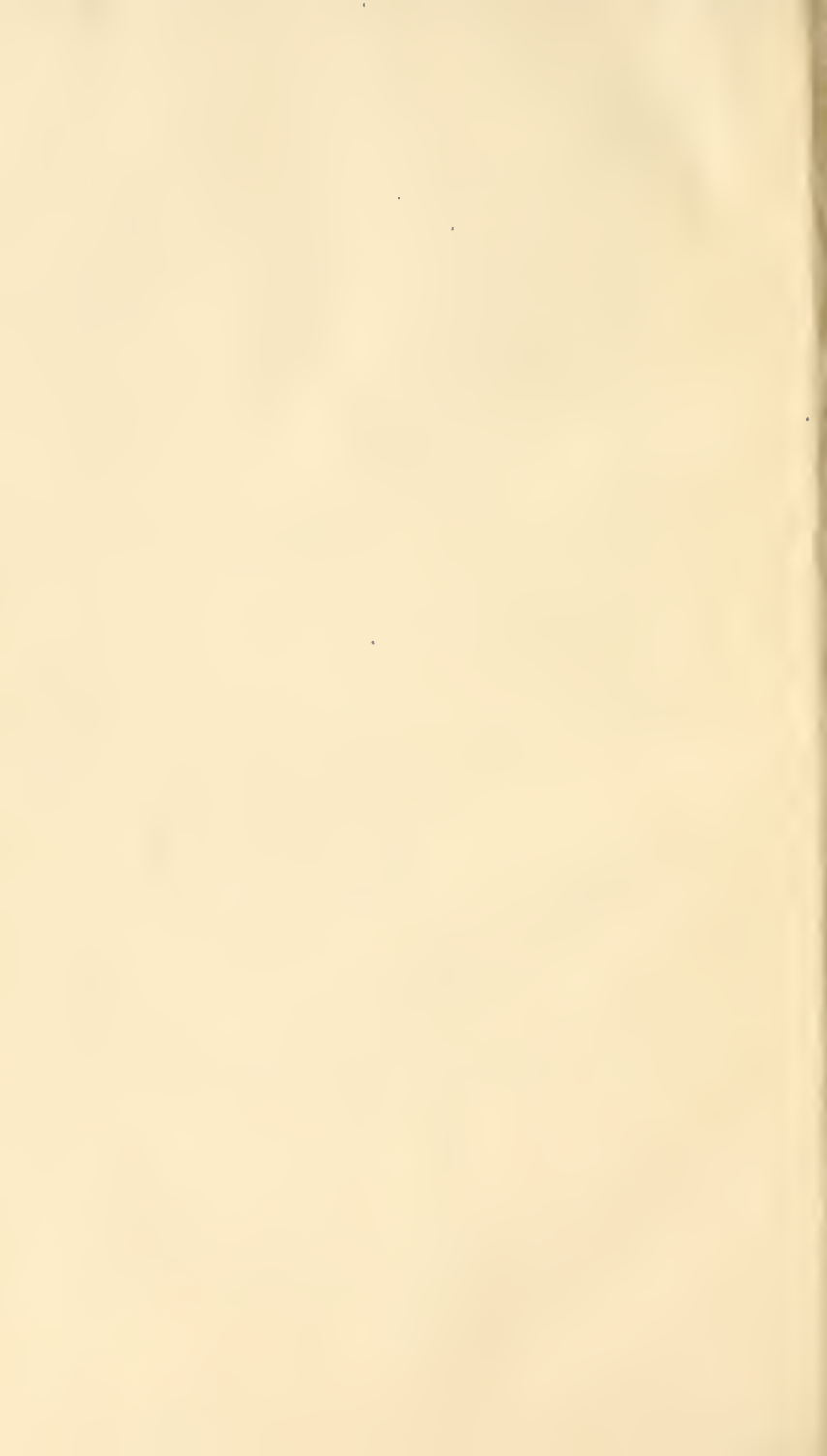
Is there a mother or wife here, who will part with the staff of her old age, or the partner of her sorrows and her joys, to engage in the conflict? Is there a female who will tell her lover, that the solemnities of the altar must be deferred until he has avenged Africa's wrong? Not one.

You may distract the country by your exertions: you may set father against son, and son against father: you may sap the prosperity of our literary institutions: you may engender bitter feelings in different sections of the union: you may alarm the fears of the patriot, and carry distress and agony to the bosoms of millions; but I cannot believe your plan will succeed. I have full confidence this nation is not, in this her early history, to be given up to the horrors of internal commotion. This confidence arises from the stability and intelligence of the people, guided by the wisdom of Him who overrules all things, and has, thus far, been our Protector and our Shield.

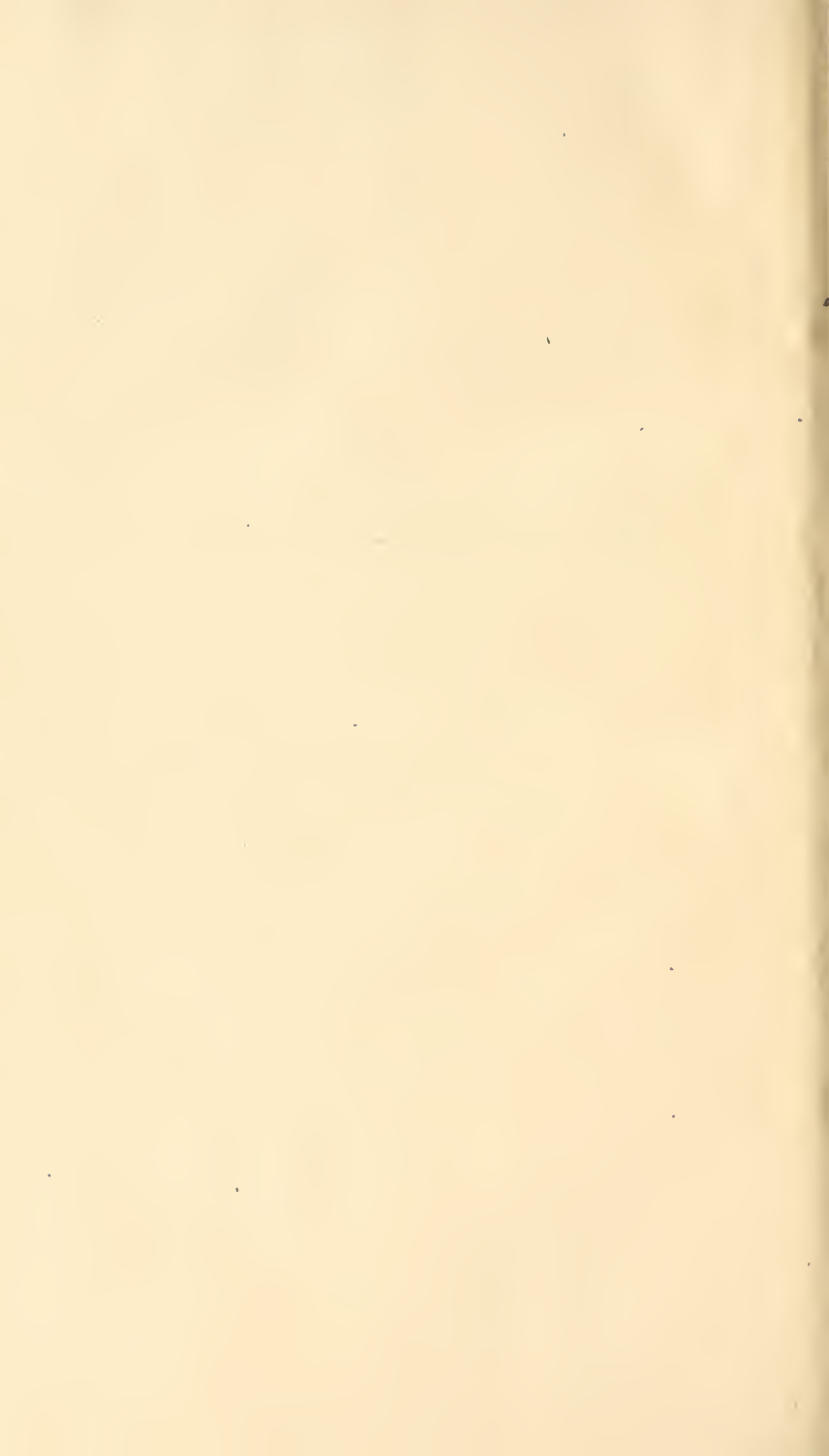
ERRATA.--Page 5, line 9th from top, for "government," read *governors*. Page 9, line 4th from bottom, for "friendship" read *happiness*. Page 18, line 26th from top, for "having" read *knowing*. Page 20, line 3d from bottom, insert *about* before "some." Page 21, line 9th from bottom for "a caste" read *this* caste. Page 22, line 10th from top, for "purchased," read, *offered*. Page 23, line 8th from bottom, for "rates" read *ratio*.













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